FREE SOCIETY

FORMERLY *THE FIREBRAND.*

An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty, that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

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Vanishing Clouds.

Lo! a cloud's about to vanish from the day,
And a brazen wrong to crumble into clay.
Lo! the Right's about to conquer! Clear the way!
With that Right shall many more
Enter smiling at the door.
With the giant Wrong shall fall
Many others, great and small,
That for ages have held us for their prey.
Men of thought and men of action, clear the way!
—Charles Mackay.

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Education for Anarchy.

The name of Leo Tolstoy will be remembered as long as the social revolution; which is predestined, very evidently, to be the event of the twentieth century. Anarchism, being a movement of the poor, was, like Christianity and all other such movements when new, assailed with the reproach of ignorance. Count Tolstoy is by no means the only Anarchist of profound learning and original intelligence—all Anarchism, though a movement of the poor, originated with the intellectual, and voluntarily, poor—but Count Tolstoy is the first whose creative genius taught the reading world to associate Anarchism with culture. That the bourgeois are able to call Anarchism a movement of the ignorant classes, is partly due that stimulant it has given many brains previously altogether inert and unprovided with material for thought. When the mere newspaper reader, whom a superficial acquaintance with Anarchism has incited to enlarge his mind in other ways, presently rushes into print a misunderstanding of Nietzsche, a rehash of La Mettrie, or an assault on the medical art, he is doing all he can to make those for whom this is antiquated, believe that Anarchism and sciolism go together. This undertow can be overcome only by persistent influence of the enlightened men among whom Anarchism originated. Of these, none has so much as Count Tolstoy; partly by reason of his reputation as a literary artist; but partly also because his life and thought alike constitute so unanswerable a reply to identification of Anarchism with the pig-philosophy of a past or passing era. It may be questioned whether the author of "Resurrection" and "Anna Karenina" have, as such, done more for Anarchism than the author of "My Confession." We need not wonder if a mind so many-sided exhibits sometimes a slight bias, especially in that direction which history shows to be of all others the most seductive wherever it exists at all—I mean, of course, the moral and religious. What we may hope is that an intellect so well-trained can be brought to acknowledge, without boasting of, the bias. We do not expect this from a Noyes or a Dowie. With him, religion—his own kind of religion—is the infallible nostrum for social ills, as well as others. But we may look for better things from a Tolstoy.

It is among Tolstoy's services to Anarchism that he has warned zealots away from impracticable courses and delusive expectations. Nothing can surpass the negative sagacity of his crititism on those means of effecting the social revolution which suggest themselves so readily to impatience. Governments cannot be overthrown by force, unless the regular army turns against them, in which case they are overthrown already; but only to make way for others which would be as bad. Attempts to practically ignore them—such as have been made by the Mormons—are either not feasible on a large scale and in a settled country, or they will end in the government's swallowing and assimilating the recalcitrant society—as, under Constantine, it did the Christian Church. The discrepancy in economic power renders preposterous the idea of an industrial revolution. The trust which is to absorb all others must be a trust of capitalists. Then it cannot be a trust of Socialists. And when a parliament representing the proletariat correctly, confronts government (if it ever does), we shall soon see that "talking shops" are weak against modern artillery. True, this would demonstrate that governments are not "of, by, and for" the people; but Tolstoy pretty correctly, though rather optimistically, remarks that the people have about found that out already; while the governments knew it long ago. Nor has it escaped the penetration of him who wrote the "Kreutzer Sonata," that so long as men enslave women they neither deserve to nor can be free. Marriage engenders slaves; slaves feed powder; powder supports landlords and capitalists. Lust, luere, and war,—the World, the Flesh, and the Devil, are an infernal Trinity, which completes the creative circle of evil, and insures the perpetuation of a terrestrial hell. Count Tolstoy judiciously, no doubt, avoids mentioning this through so guarded a mouthpiece as the *Independent*, but he understands it very well. While women are subject, human bodies will be cheap. While they are so, there must be war; while war, government; and while government, exploitation.

The advance of the bourgeois system has itself, however, made the emancipation of women certain. With population restricted, as in France; and people awake, as Count Tolstoy so encouragingly says they are, to the fact that government exists only for their exploitation, what hinders killing government by simple refusal to slay and be slain in its defense? This only—but the point is a momentous one—that *when it comes to that government is already dead.* The question of the day is how to persuade men against serving government? And on this question a word may be bestowed with some advantage.

Count Tolstoy, no donbt, though he does not say so in his *Independent* article, relies principally upon moral suasion. This, however, was tried by the Quakers more than two centuries ago. The Quakers deserve much honor as precursors of Anarchism. Their influence is still great—perhaps growing—and nowhere more conspicuous than in the Anarchist movement. But their number does not increase; and I fear the reason is that morality (a motive which influences but very few) has not proved enough to keep them true to their logic. In the one commonwealth where they were strong enough to set up a government, they not only did so, but practised Negro slavery and capital punishment.

Count Tolstoy apparently doubts that preaching righteousness can effect the reformation of so wicked a world: for he appeals also to self-interest. The soldiers are the people—why should they aid the landlords and capitalists to murder the people? Alas! this is morality and religion calling for aid to pig-philosophy! There is no help there. The Manchester school has, for near a century, been showing us, most conclusively, that war is bad economy; and the Transvaal furnishes a last commentary on such teaching. The truth is that pig-philosophy involves a tremendous non-sequitur. It is for the interest of the individual to be respectable. It is not for his interest to be good; or at least no appeal to his lowest instincts will ever make him see that it is. If he hopes for no heaven, fears no hell, and sneers at conscience as a matter of obsolete tradition, he logically says with Pentecost that it cannot be for his happiness to become a beggar or a martyr; which, as Plato saw, is exactly what goodness requires him to do. Snooks, with these principles, had much rather face brick-bats in the hands of Bill Sykes, than a platoon fired by Tommy Atkins and his comrades.

Count Tolstoy has answered his own question, why soldiers, though themselves the people, kill the people. It is because they are hypnotized. And is there any way to get them unhypnotized? Not until after the educated classes have been awakened. Count Tolstoy is familiar with Russian peasants. Therefore, he undoubtedly knows that they still believe in witchcraft. So do English peasants, and German peasants, and Americans not exactly peasants; as the success of every table-turning charlatan shows at once. Yet witchcraft is as dead as government soon will be. What killed it? The various influences which, about two hundred years ago, taught intelligent people to laugh at it. And this merely illustrates an universal rule. Superstitions die at the top. Below the surface—and even a very little below—they are immortal. But when their connection with the social brain is severed, they become paralytic and harmless.

It is not necessary to unhypnotize all who would gladly become soldiers. Were it so

the case would be desperate. But we need only unhypnotize a fair proportion of those who might become officers, judges, justices, legislators, presidents, and other manipulators of soldiers. This can, and soon will, be done: but not altogether by preaching righteousness, still less by pig-philosophy. "So long as war is considered wicked, it will always have its fascination," said a great man, who died lately, hounded to death by the Philistines. "When it is looked upon as vulgar it will cease to be popular." The way to persuade people against serving government is to teach the teachable part of them that it represents obsolete ideals, ignorance, stupidity, humbug, knavery—that voting, and office-holding, and shoulder-straps, and crowns, and billions, are nothing so fine as wicked or extravagant, but just fogyish. As to the unteachable, we need not trouble ourselves. They amount to nothing in the social movement except as their ideals happen at a critical time to harmonize with those of the cultured, to which they impart momentum.

The means are various by which those who think enough to be worth thinking of, are being, even now, unhypnotized out of the government superstition. Most certainly preaching of righteousness is not to be despised. When Herron (or some other American preacher of righteousness) suggested recently that we could make our exploiter, the millionaire thief, as odious as the twenty-five cent thief by treating them alike, a bourgeois penny-a-liner indulged in some characteristic wit at the withering effect which it would have on Jay Gould not to be invited to dine with an honest proletaire. But a greater writer than this Philistine zany took a much sounder view of such matters several centuries ago.—"Yet all this availeth me nothing so long as I see Mordecai the Jew sitting at the king's gate." The first scene of Haman and Mordecai is already reenacted daily, wherever there are millionaires and Anarchists!

Another of the ways in which all whose attitude amounts to anything are being unhypnotized, is through that drift of art and literature towards Anarchism which demonstrates at once its essential novelty and the exhaustion of war, government, religion and virtue (after the Philistine rite). Most people would unhesitatingly place "War and Peace" above "My Confession," while classifying Tolstoy's services to Anarchism. For, as Oscar Wilde so pertinently remarks, the immense majority are very little sensible to either moral exhortation or egoistic demonstration; but very much to fashion. That war is wicked, renders it rather fascinating; that it is foolish and costly, only dignifies its grossness by association with the perennial cult of self-sacrifice and pain; but that intelligence, expressed in art, now makes it odious and ridiculous, is alone almost enough to wean the masses from everything associated with it. Well, then! the conspicuous æsthetic phenomenon of our times is that art has turned against war and all that rests on war. A Russian painter achieves immortality by battle pictures, every one of which owes its power and pathos to making "glorious war," mere mutual butchery of fools for knaves. In literature, the Anarchist poets, Byron and Shelley, struck the same note; and their successors have, on the whole, kept up the melody very well. All Russian romance, now so powerful and popular, is, everybody knows, inspired by loathing and contempt for positive institutions. In France, the appalled bourgeois are fain to acknowledge that every man of creative genius is practically an Anarchist; nor is it very different in Germany. England and America run deep and hard in the Philistine rut, of course; but even there the popular and famous authors are chiefly assailants of Philistine morality. George Eliot, Hardy, Du Maurier, Olive Schreiner,—these are names which count. On the other hand, stupidity and mediocrity have a monopoly of law-and-order fiction, disturbed only by occasional failures of a real artist. Tennyson failed when he strung his lyre to sing the Crimean war. Kipling is great when he gives the pathos of poor, stupid, "hypnotized" Tommy Atkins, dying at his post of "duty" for the exporters of rum, opium, and Brummagem idols; but he became bombastic in the "Recessional," and imbecile in "The White Man's Burden."

This is among the inevitable tendencies towards Anarchy. Art turns from over-realized to new ideals, as necessarily as the needle to the poles. The violent phase of Anarchism, which Tolstoy deprecates so earnestly, is more of a voluntary kind. Individuals can be persuaded to or dissuaded from it; and it has never been my cue to persuade any one—at all events not to blood. Tolstoy, I hope, may recognize a kindred spirit if I acknowledge that I never gave what influence I had to encourage beginning any war. But that the violent acts of Anarchists do not help to unhypnotize a public enslaved by the siren of authority, is scarcely, I think, a tenable proposition. Art, always in advance, has already recognized the Nihilist as an extremely dramatic figure. She finds it impossible to make any use of the Nihilist's victims. Canovas, Alexander, Carnot, Elizabeth, Humbert, go down,

> "To the vile dust from whence they sprung,
> Unwept, unhonored, and unsung."

Bonfield's dupes, indeed, have a monument—already the acknowledged eye-sore of Chicago. All which is so much more palpable demonstration that they represent played-out ideals. It is the Nihilist who furnished this demonstration. The world could manage to idealize Marie Antoinette. A queen arraigned before a proletarian tribunal and dying by decree of the democratic god "la Loi," was picturesque enough. Since her time, the imagination of many has been fascinated by the republican statesman, who from his modest office, directs the slaughter of half a million Chinese or Filipinos, and with a touch on his electric bell sets in motion round the globe a hundred thousand subject arms. The romance is dissipated when we learn that he will not provoke rebellion, nor be tried, nor dramatically beheaded; but just may be knocked over—a big bully by a little one—a Goliah, in all his modern paraphernalia, by some David who does not fear to die.

The pecuniary interest of the bourgeois and the flunkey remain; and, of course, they are very strong. But Count Tolstoy would be the first to recognize that they owe their strength to an ideal, though a decayed one. The bourgeois is not a miser. He is a plagiarist. Money is power. That is why he hoards it. "The rich man's wealth is his strong city." Ah! but the age of the *petroleuse*, it is also his vulnerable point. Nothing is as cheap as human flesh, even in royal robes. "The loss of the horses is bad," said Lincoln, when the rebels captured a lot of these animals, together with an incompetent brigadier; "I can make another general." It is even easier to make a king, consequently killing one does not amount to much—and a policeman! bathos. But money ceases to be power if its possessors dare not resort to murder—and they will not dare when they learn what that means now.

Thus Anarchism, as the spirit of the new century, comes in with all the variety which belongs to human nature. Its recommendation is not that it will miraculously set right all evils. Nothing but a humbug pretends to do that. The recommendation of Anarchy is that it will put no factitious hindrances in that course of evil which the highest law has rendered suicidal.

C. L. JAMES.

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The Power of Mind.

Comrade Holmes mentions this as a possible "element or factor . . . almost entirely overlooked by radical thinkers," i. e., the power of thought as exemplified by "Mental Science" or "Christian Science," and thinks "that a great world of thought is being opened to us," which may "change or modify our social and other institutions, and our manner of life." I have dwelt considerably on this line of thought, have read its literature and endeavored to catch the meaning from its verbiage and unmeaning terms. I was a great admirer of Helen Wilmans when she was associated with C. C. Post on the Chicago *Express*. But when she started the *Woman's World* she entered upon a "world" unknown to me; and I wrote her that I believed she was following an *ignis fatuus* that was leading her away from solid ground, where she was so much needed. "Following," I said, "one phase of that false philosophy which has filled the world with woe, by demanding faith and obedience, and discouraging investigation."

Why was I surprised and grieved when Mrs. Wilmans in her last paper had no word of rebuke or protest at the gigantic crime perpetrated in her city in the name of law? Why indeed when she says, "Metaphysics, or mental science, denies not only the power of evil, but its very existence. It says good reigns supreme. Good (or God) fills all space and therefore there is no room for anything else." Why should she bother herself about something that does not exist? The poor souls of Chicago that are crying for bread might just as well be given a stone. It's all a mistake; they are not hungry. Mrs. Wilmans says, "The metaphysician denies the evidence of the senses." This she wrote about the time our comrades were executed in Chicago.

Mental Science has proved a solid thing for her; and I have learned to regard it much more favorably than I did in those days. I readily admit that evil exists only in the

mind; but I go a step farther, and say that good, or God, also exists only in the mind. I have as good a right to deny the existence of good as she has to deny the existence of evil. I may say "all is evil," good and evil, right and wrong, are distinctions created by conscious individuals. Nature knows nothing of either, and we look in vain for any authority to dictate to the conscious individual. Men are born free and equal, but the conscious individual surrendering its prerogative has created authority and ignorantly enslaved itself with customs and laws.

"Christian" or "Mental Science" is based upon the divine will of God, who would have "all men come to a knowledge of the truth." The one thing necessary to get *en rapport* with the "Divine Will" is an unswerving faith that God, or good, "is all in all." Such are the essentials of all religious faith, and may be expressed in the "God idea" originating in the childhood of the race. Intelligence and independent thought has divided it into a thousand and one forms, has destroyed its power to oppress, and will eventually relegate it to the lumber-room of ancient superstition.

Comrade Holmes speaks of its remarkable growth. "Although not yet a quarter of a century old numbers more adherents than the Episcopal denomination in this country." I account for this remarkable growth, in part at least, by the swinging over of a large army of Spiritualists who had grown aweary of the falsehood and fraud of mediums and manifestations, and saw in "Christian" or "Mental Science" a more consistent if not more sensible explanation of the phenomenon they had witnessed. Materialism had awakened many minds, and doubt and distrust was growing when this "science" sent them back to their early love.

I have no desire to argue its merits or demerits; I believe there is much truth as well as error in the theory. To me its chief error is the "God idea." They make a God of the individual will. Yet, paradoxical as it may seem, it is this very tendency which calls forth my admiration of the school; it is this advancement of the will which causes me to hope and believe with the comrade I quote. "Agencies may be set in motion which will actually change or modify our social and other institutions, and our manner of life." "Know thyself" and "trust thyself" are mottoes of modern philosophy. Individualism is a concurrent thought. So far as the "God idea" is concerned, I see very little difference in the various schools calling themselves "Christian" or "Mental Scientists." My sympathy is more with "Mental Science." Their individualism is more in accord with mine. While I cannot follow them in elevating the human will above nature, I feel there is no danger in their advocacy. Let excelsior be their motto. The average will is so low, and high ideals so necessary, that I care not to what heights their imagination may soar.

I am naturally optimistic. I believe the world is growing better, and it is due to the power of mind. I reject the idea that "whatever is, is right." Whatever is, is the result of causes in nature. Manipulated by wisdom—the power of thought—results may be changed. The power of thought is hastening evolution, and it is ever the result of individual reform. Independent thought demanding equality and rejecting all authority is the leading factor in the power of mind. A true mental science is developing. "The power of human thought has never been understood," says our comrade, but "is being exploited to a greater or less degree by all students of psychology and psychic phenomena." The nature of these phenomena is such, and the minds of the students being swayed by ancient superstition, erroneous conclusions very naturally come first. As Pope has said:

> "A little learning is a dangerous thing,
> Drink deep, or taste not, the Pierian spring;
> For shallow draughts intoxicate the brain,
> And drinking deeply sobers us again."

This is especially true in the study of the mind. It requires a long and patient research. The true mental scientist has yet to appear. I await his coming and am prepared to hail him as the social savior of the race.

A. L. Ballou.

Wellesley Hills, Mass.

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Various Notes.

I suppose ways to dodge the law are always in order. Lately I was reading a copy of *Our Dumb Animals*, and found that that praiseworthy paper was sent free to all the ministers in Massachusetts, as well as to certain other classes. What! how could a paper with such a free list be sent as second-class matter under the present postoffice regulations? I found my answer by reading a little further, to where the editor was telling what a great work his paper did by being sent to editors all over the country; in other words, by its exchange list. Now I knew that the department rated exchange papers as paid copies; so I saw a great light. If Comrade Gillie, or anyone else, wants to get a paper accepted as second-class matter, all he has to do is to exchange right and left with everybody in sight; then he can swear in a perfectly legal paid list, big enough to admit a considerable free list with it, while in fact every copy that goes out may be at the publisher's expense. The other papers have this inducement to exchange with him, that they thereby increase their own legal paid list and strengthen their hold on the second-class privilege.

* * *

Anarchy needs a Debs. He may be as big a fool as E. V. Debs if you like. As soon as he has gathered a group of workers he may break it up again by unwise management, as Debs did. We should be glad to have a man without these faults; but we could afford to welcome a man with all of them, if he would bring Debs' gift of attracting men into cooperation and Debs' determination to have them do something worth while with their cooperation. However blundering the resultant action might be, it could not fail to be a big nail in Uncle Sam's coffin. Any peaceable or strictly defensive action of a hundred or a thousand persons against the government would have an irresistible enlightening power. And we could get such action if we had a worker possessing the first qualificaton of a popular leader—the ability to get followers.

I am glad to see Comrade Lloyd speaking out against this talk of "Down with all leaders." I believe the foundation of that cry is supposed to be that historically all leaders have led their followers to either failure or bondage. This is part of the same pessimism which says that all emancipatory movements in the past have been failures; and the part is no truer than the whole. In fact we inherit from the past not only a good deal of progress resulting from imperceptible evolution, but also a good deal, and of good quality, that results from definite emancipatory efforts by masses of people. And these valuable efforts have usually, if not always, been the visible result of leadership. Wickliff, William the Silent, Samuel Adams, Mirabeau, Bakunin—if these men had not been leaders, surely we should be a long way further back than we are. History is partly the product of broad movements, partly of great men; and one of the principal ways in which great men affect history is by this power of making many eager to cooperate in whatever the leader proposes. This is certainly one of the gifts natural to humanity, and if it is easily misused to produce a tyranny, the like is true of other excellent qualities—of the power to strike a hard blow, the courage to face a danger that cows average men, the shrewdness to see at once the relations of one thing to many lines of human activity. All these things become the foundations of tyrannies; are they all to be abhorred? Why then should we smother the power to attract many free men into cooperating in what one man plans? Harmonious cooperation in a definite undertaking is rarely secured except by leadership of some kind. If I had said "never" for "rarely," I should still have been much nearer the truth than is that statement about leadership always leading to disaster.

* * *

I was writing awhile ago to say that Anarchists ought never, whether in print or in conversation, to say "we" and "our army" in speaking of the United States government. Let me add, in the same line, that one should not say "nation" for "State" or "government." One cannot always say "State" here in America, but when he cannot say that he can say "Union" and "Federal." To use "nation" and "national" instead is bad English, besides being a needless glorification of the government.

Steven T. Byington.

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Literature.

Science and the Workingmen. By Ferdinand Lassalle. Translated by Thorston Vebben. The International Library Co., 23 Duane St., New York. Price 25 cents.

This is the famous speech of Lassalle in January, 1863, before the court which was trying him for the crime of arousing the hatred of the exploited classes against their oppressors. It is not merely impassioned and eloquent, but logical and convincing. It is rather a plea for free speech and the rights of the people than a work of special propaganda.

J. F. M.

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"Judge not" the priests say; but they send everything to hell which stands in their way.—Nietzsche.

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ANARCHY.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

There is something servile in the habit of seeking after a law which we may obey. We may study the laws of matter at and for our convenience, but a sucessful life knows no law.—Thoreau.

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Notes.

Comrade Emma Goldman is about to start on a propaganda tour, making Philadelphia her first stopping point. Those who wish to arrange meetings or otherwise communicate with her, should do so at once. Her address is 50 First St., New York, N. Y.

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Some comrades in this city are planning means of mutual self-help without the aid of money, and have organized under the name of the Ideal Society. All who wish further information should communicate with Chas. Levy, secretary, 108 S. 38th St., Chicago.

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Note and Comment.

Anent Comrade Addis' article "A Foe to Liberty," which appears in another column, it may be in order to point out the fact that not only trades unionism, but all movements which attempt to ameliorate present conditions of society through legislative methods, are consciously or unconsciously hostile to freedom. Like the fly in the cob-web, the more it struggles the surer it is to become the victim of the spider. Law is the cause of our enslavement, and nothing short of the abolition of the cause will bring the remedy.

* * *

Professor Herron is of greater service to the Anarchist movement than many of us realize. His criticisms of society and government are thorough and effective; and his portrayal of the goal—a free society without civil authority—is irreproachable and exactly in line with the philosophy of Anarchist Communism. In fact, he frequently emphasizes that Anarchist Communism is the "kingdom of heaven." But his method of reaching the goal, i. e., by making use of the ballot-box, is as delusive as is government, when it pretends to exist for the protection of the people, while in reality it not only does not protect, but robs and oppresses the wealth producers, as Prof. Herron so conclusively proves in his lectures.

* * *

"A crisis between the capitalists and workingmen is coming," says Prof. Herron. "The capitalists know this much better than the workingmen, and are preparing themselves for this clash. Now the question is, are we ready for it; are we ready to give up our lives for a better future, as did the brave people in Paris in 1871? . . . We must have a strongly organized and disciplined body of men who are willing to face death, and are able to stand on their own feet, if leadership fails. No movement ought to fail on account of incompetent leaders; people must become intelligent and self-reliant, to be able to get along without leaders." But Prof. Herron does not seem to realize that intelligent and self-reliant men could not be trained to subjection, but that is what discipline means. Nor need they be organized under a platform, rules and by-laws. The early Christians, so greatly admired and often referred to by Prof. Herron as an example of unity and brotherhood, were a strong unit without "discipline" or "organization," because they all had one aim in view; and there can be no stronger union than the spontaneous unity of purpose.

* * *

Gen. Benj. R. Harrison, once president of the United States, is dead. He is eulogized as the "greatest statesmen" in this country at the present time. What a lack of brains there must be in the present society, when it must point to a very ordinary and common man, whose whole career does not include a single achievement of any significance whatsoever, as one of the "greatest" that it possessed! All that can be said of him, is that he sympathized with the Boers, a sympathy which almost every man, who is not blinded by prejudice or patriotism for England, had with him in common. The task of the future biographer will not be increased very materially through Harrison's life; for this tells the whole story: "Benj. R. Harrison; born August 26, 1833; president of the United States 1890–93; died March 13, 1901. He sympathized with the Boers."

* * *

The revolution is now on in Spain. When the historian of the future writes the history of the Spanish revolution the present time will be included, although at present all manifestations of the popular mind are designated as "riots" and "disturbances." The fact that such demonstrations, as have been made in Spain recently, take place at all, shows that the revolutiou in the minds of the people has been accomplished, and there now remains only the inevitable conflict between organized authority and the people. But when this point is reached, the revolution enters upon its last stage, and not the first, as is generally but erroneously believed. It is probable that the present revolution in Spain will not accomplish much beyond the overthrow of royalty. But we welcome this popular uprising just the same. Although the change will be slight, yet each conflict which occurs between the prople and the rulers is an added experience for humanity. Revolutions are the floods which rise and cleanse the vice and corruption accumulated in the stagnant pools of history. Old institutions are swept away; and mankind is all the better for it.

* * *

The uneasiness and unrest which is now prevailng in Russia is encouraging. As usual, the students in the universities take a leading part in all the demonstrations; and the fact that the red flag was unfolded and the attack of the cossacks resisted with some success, is sufficient proof that the "disturbances" are of a more popular character than the Russian censor would make us believe. Nowhere do governments promote rational education; for enlightened people long for freedom, and are not easily governed. The czars have little cause to love the students; and that is the reason why the government makes it as hard as possible for all who wish to go through a course of higher education in Russia. With all the power of the czars, with all their wealth, with their prisons and their Siberian mines, they have not been able to crush out the desire for liberty and enlightment in the people of Russia.

"How many drops must gather to the skies
Before the cloud-burst comes, we may not know; . . .
But certain is the harvest time of Hate!"

* * *

In this connection the following protsst from the pen of T. Tcherkesov, in the London *Freedom*, may be in order:

All the world knows the ways and doings of Russian despotism. Last year we saw the government torturing the Dukhobors, tearing children from Dissenter parents, destroying national life and welfare in Finland. But it seems that Czar Nicholas II was still not satisfied with such a glorious record of his five years' reign. He and his ministers have now committed an act of cruelty and barbarism which certainly will be one of the most monstrous acts even of the annals of Russian despotism.

By decision of the ministers and by order of the czar, 385 young students of the Kiev University are sentenced and deported to the military convict service in the remotest and wildest part of Eastern Sibiria.

What offense had those young victims of Czar Nicholas committed? Did they provoke a rebellion in the street? Or did they offend the barbarous laws and customs of existlng czardom? Nothing of the kind.—They had held some meetings in the university itself for the purpose of petitioning for the removal of a temporary substitute of a professor who had proved himself to be ignorant and incapable of delivering the lectures; they also complained of the strenuous and brutal police regulations in their university life. That was all.

There was no crime, no offense against law, and the students could not be prosecuted even before the Russian law courts. But Emperor Nicholas, under the influence of Pobiedonostoff, the evil genius of Russia, declared himself an avowed enemy of science and universities; some time ago he threatened to close them all. And this deportation as convict soldiers of 385 students is his first move toward the abolition of higher education and the extermination of the enlightened youth of Russia.

Will the czar and his ministers succeed in this fight against science and human conscience? If the whole of Russian society, the parents and relatives forsake their duty of protecting their children and will, cowardlike, submit themselves to the cruelty of ministers and czar; if the teachers and professors of high schools and universities will continue in solidarity with the executioners of our youth, certainly the czar will succeed.

But will the parents continue to forsake their duty? That is the question. Otherwise Nicholas II is capable of going till the end. His moral and intellectual capacity is identical with that of his great-grandfather, Emperor Paul. He imitates the latter's decrees and acts. And it will be only natural if history preserves for him Emperor Paul's glory and fate.

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The Martyrs of the Commune.

Language is powerless to express the emotions that arise on reading of the horrors that followed the downfall of the Paris Commune. Why speak of those who died so bravely in its defense? Words cannot do them justice. What pen can portray the anguish endured by the 28,000 prisoners who suffered for months and years in foul prisons, or survived the ordeal of the voy-

age on "floating hells" to a far off penal colony, where starvation, blows, brutality in every form awaited them? Words but mock the memory of these martyrs; only as we emulate their example and consecrate our lives to the cause of humanity, is it possible to vindicate their memory or hasten the coming of that glad day which shed the first glimmer of its radiance thirty years ago in the heart of the great city of Paris.

Every heart that beats responsively to the instinct of liberty and the love of humanity must weep over the death agony of the Commune; for that great proletarian revolt was the first attempt of intelligent workingmen to abolish class rule—to substitute in the place of government and its protection of "capitalistic industry" the free cooperative industry of the workers and their "absolute right to make themselves masters of their own destinies." For this attempt to bring about the dream of all ages, "the brotherhood of man," the men who were the bone and sinew of their country, the very flower of France, were slaughtered in cold blood at the direct instigation of the brute Thiers and his assassins. The following is the list of victims given by Lissagaray in his history of the Commune:

> Twenty-five thousand men, women, and children killed during the battle or *after*; three thousand at least dead in the prisons, the pontoons, the forts. Thirteen thousand seven hundred condemned, most of them for *life*. Seventy thousand women, children and old men deprived of their supporters or thrown out of France.

Well does Lissagaray add, "What a lesson of revolutionary vigor given to the workingmen! The governing classes shoot in the lump; their vengeance lasts not an hour; neither years nor victims appease it; they make of it an administrative function methodical and continuous."

Think of such ferocity waged against the fallen, who in the midst of their terrible struggle to defend the city, issued placards like this to the invaders:

> The people of Paris will never believe that you could raise your arms against them. Like us, you too are proletarians. That which you did on the 18th of March you will do again. Come to us, brothers, come to us; our arms are open to receive you.

Not till the last could the workingmen of Paris admit that the soldiers of Thiers, children of the people, would massacre them.

May the Revolutionists of the future be warned by their fate, and never harbor such "generous illusions." Let us remember that government is a machine that transforms naturally decent men who perform its functions, into knaves, fools, and heartless scoundrels. These have at their command an army, composed of men subjected to the severest discipline; from their youth up they are drilled to obey without question the orders of their superiors. They are taught in the schools—when they have any schooling—and in the churches, that the superiors, the governing classes, are the guardians of our social order; and that upon its preservation depends life, personal safety, and every decency. The soldier is the ignorant tool used by intellectual parasites to accomplish everythihg that is vile, brutal, and necessary to further their private ambitions. This is why the appeal of the Parisians to the Versailles soldiers fell on deaf ears. Army discipline had made them incapable of responding to human solidarity. They were no longer men, but beasts. This is also why Thiers and his colleagues, *not ignorant*, but alive to every opportunity that would further their own miserable ambitions, waged a merciless warfare against the rebels of Paris.

The Communists' appeal to fraternity, and their evident intention to ignore class distinctions, threatened the very foundations of the governing class. We who have grown to manhood and womanhood since that human sacrifice was offered up to the gods of law and order, can forgive the Versailles soldiers their brutality; they knew not what they did. But never, *never*, so long as the sun shines on our living hearts, will we forgive their "superiors," who incited and ordered them to murder. This shall be our vengeance, an undying hatred of government, an undying warfare against institutions which create and perpetuate monsters like Thiers or Gallifet.

Rest in peace, great hearts! who perished behind the barricades, by the walls of Pere la Chaise, and at the death stake of Satory. The spirit you bequeathed to us with your last breath, we in turn will bequeath to posterity, cemented with your blood, a thousand-fold intensified by our devotion.

KATE AUSTIN.

—o—

A Foe to Liberty.

Some of the readers of FREE SOCIETY may be offended when I say that trades unionism, as now organized, is a foe to liberty. It is, however; and I realized that fact more during the session of the late Oregon legislature than ever before. Plenty of fool bills were introduced, but the most foolish, the most restrictive and liberty destroying were those introduced at the behest of the trades unions.

The people of this State have gotten along quite nicely without any Sunday interference; but the union barbers asked for a Sunday law in their "interest," following the example of the union barbers in the State of Washington. The horseshoers pushed a bill to license horseshoers, and fine any one shoeing a horse without a license. Many farmers and ranchers in this State shoe their own and their neighbors' horses, and why should they be fined for so doing?

These are only samples of the fool bills introduced in the late legislature of Oregon at the behest of the trades unions. Luckily the barbers' bill was the only one that became a law, and it will be a dead letter practically from the start.

This attitude of the trades unions is the proof of my assertion that trades unionism, as now organized, is a foe to liberty.

The curtailment of personal liberty and the restriction of the right to earn a living, is painfully apparent to me since the rise of trades unionism in Portland. But is the condition of labor, generally, improved? you ask. I answer, no! Owing to the Alaska excitement and the Philippine war, much attention has been attracted to Portland, as a great harbor, an advantageous shipping and manufacturing point, with the result that large numbers of strangers have come here. That in turn raises rents and induces the building of new houses, which of necesssity causes a demand for a larger number of all kinds of mechanics in the building trades. That, in connection with a large departure of men to Alaska and Manila, has given the opportunity to the trades union leaders to claim the credit for the raise in wages and the shortening of the work-day. It is noticeable, however, that before these conditions arose, all the entreaties, threats and other efforts of the trades unions were in vain.

Trades unionism is based on an acceptance of things as they are, and seeks to prevent the lowering of wages, to raise wages or shorten the work-day, by preventing a large number of persons from getting work, thus keeping the work for themselves, and dictating hours and wages.

That fact of necessity makes it a foe to liberty, a restricter of opportunities, an upholder of wage working—a galling form of slavery.

The Western Labor Union is a modification of trades unionism; and encourages the reading of the works of Marx, Kropotkin, Morris, and others. Such an organization is far preferable to the "pure and simple" kind, of the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance kind: but LIBERTY *brooks no restrictions.*

HENRY ADDIS.

—o—

A Letter from London.

DEAR COMRADES,—FREE SOCIETY to hand, for which please accept thanks. The paper looks very nice in its new dress; and the best wishes of the comrades here are with you in your attempt to stimulate and quicken that spirit of revolt which abounds in the "storm-center" of the United States, and to guide it in the channel of Anarchist Communism.

When a country is in such a condition that it requires courage to live in it, it is in a bad way. Such is the condition of this country today. Pessimism is such a dangerous form of vice that one can only hope one will not be afflicted with it. But if to tell the truth, no matter how unpleasant be pessimism, then I fear we are all pessimists here at present. There is but one topic here at present among all men: that is the war in South Africa. True, the horizon is temporarily obscured at times with such matters as the looting and blood-letting in China, the death of Victoria and the visit of the German emperor, the London County Council election, and the numerous other small matters; but like summer clouds they soon pass away and are forgotten. The County Council election took place day before yesterday, and will be forgotten a week hence. Victoria is forgotten already, and the patriotic statesmen are crying for a shortening of the "mourning period," as it hurts trade, they say,—yes, *their* trade,—while a great many people are in doubt as to whether the man with the crippled arm [the German ruler] was ever really here, for his visit seems so remote. But the war is always here; things come and go, it is with us morning, noon and night; and the great question is, when will it be over?

We are now in the seventeenth month of the war, and De Wet, Botha, Delary, Hertzog and numerous other leaders with their commandoes are still unsubdued. True, the

war has been over *officially* about eleven times, while De Wet has been "hemmed in," "surrounded," "dispersed and his commando broken up," and Botha surrendered so many times that people, other than mathematicians, have lost all count of them. So many troops have been sent out to slaughter these few Boers that it is impossible to count them, but the number certainly doesn't fall short of three hundred thousand. One hundred million pounds sterling have been admitted as spent; and according to letters from the front, some of the troops are five months in arrears with their pay. To this must be added, what a great many people forget, i. e., £50,000,000 army stores, which have been used up. These stores were in depot when the war broke out; they are now used up, and will have to be replaced; but of this the patriotic government says nothing, and ninety-nine out of every one hundred men in the street know nothing about it. This makes £150,000,000 ($750,000,000), and the war not over yet. How does the American jingo like it?

It is not too much to say that this war has killed every hope for social reforms—even of the mildest character—by the imperial government for years to come. One of those "immediate demands" of the Social Democrats here is "old age pensions," and they, together with political radicals, were deceiving themselves as recently as two years ago that "old age pensions" were in sight. Did not Chamberlain promise it, and was not there a committee appointed some four or five years ago, with Lord Rothschild as chairman, to look into the matter? They did look into it—probably after dinner—and reported that it was impracticable, and said that "self-help" was the best! And now with a debt of £150,000,000—and some say £200,000,000—saddled on to the country on top of the enormous debt there is at present, pos'pones indefinitely not only old age pensions, but every other reform. The lesson is so striking that a child in economics could see there is no hope for the working classes, except by revolution and a general expropriation of the governing classes.

Unfortunately the words truth, justice, freedom, respect for the rights of others, and morality, have lost their meaning in this mad wave of jingoism; and if there is a slight reaction—and perhaps a growing reaction—in favor of peace, it is not because the masses and the classes are less brutal and unjust than they were a year ago, but because their pockets have been affected, and De Wet has compelled their admiration. The Englishman is more than half brute by nature, and admires cleverness and physical courage, hence their forced admiration for De Wet. They do not admire him because he is fighting for freedom, but simply because he is fighting! No matter what the cause may be, the question is, can he fight? or, is he clever? These two causes more than any other make for peace. All other questions, such as the justice or injustice of the war, the martyrdom of the troops at the front, or the friends of peace at home, together with many others, are all subsidiary to the two questions above.

Such is the material the Anarchists have to deal with here; and is it a wonder that we make slow progress? The Anarchist movement, as well as the Social Democratic movement, is under a cloud at present. A handful of comrades here in London still struggle on, and wait impatiently the awakening which is sure to come. Though the light is dim the candle still burns, and will some day burst forth in a flame that will startle the parasites of this great city. May it be soon!

The *Daily News* of today prints a long protest against the action of the czar of all the Russias, in his sentence of two hundred students sent into the army for daring to assemble in a meeting to denounce the action of one of the students in stealing some valuables from a ballet girl. I inclose a copy of protest, which you can print if you have space. It is a good omen that the *Daily News* should print the protest in full. In these dog days we are thankful for small mercies. With Kropotkin coming to Chicago, a little breeze might be raised on this question; and the fact that it would be unpalatable to McKinley the First to say anything about his friend and ally, the czar, would add spice to it. Those poor students of this tyrant, deserve all the help we can give them.

With best wishes for the movement and kind regards to old friends,

H. M. KELLY.

London, Eng., March 4, 1901.

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Civilization and Barbarism—A Comparison.

Civilized men, amongst whom belief in a personal God grows weaker day by day—civilized men, with their vague idea of an indefinable Supreme Being—will think the pretensions or these paltry knights grotesque; will wonder at the trivial absurdity of these wretched Todas, who grant their head dairyman the attributes of omnipotence. They will protest that it is madness for a mortal to believe himself immortal, not to recognize that he is subject to the thousand accidents of daily life, to the numberless frailties of existence, to all chances which inflict humiliation on our wisdom and ruin the plans we held most prudent and well arranged.

All that is a modern conception. The ancients thought otherwise, were accustomed to mingle the ideas of order, morality, and justice with those of administration, government, and personal power. If we are to believe them, nature must have begun with chaos, and would tend to return to its initial disorder, did not a more powerful Will create order and maintain it. Humanity would ask nothing better than to wallow in excess and immerse itself in crime, if monarchs were not there to repress cupidity and violence, and impose upon the nations the bridle of law. In conceptions of this sort it is not always easy to distinguish between the God who delegates his powers to man, and man who receives his powers from God. This is why the Hindoo doctrine teaches that Indra sends no rain upon a kingdom which has lost its king. Ulysses—the wise Ulysses—explained to the discreet Penelope: "Under a virtuous prince the earth brings forth barley and wheat in abundance, trees are loaded with fruit, ewes yeen several times in succession, and the sea is filled with fish. Of so great worth is a good leader." Such is also the opinion of the Chinese, who hold their emperor responsible for draughts and inundations, winds and frosts.

But, upon reflection, are our modern ideas upon the principle of authority sensibly superior to those of the savages? Have not the theorists of divine right put forth the dictum that their monarch can do everything; yes, everything? And have not their rivals, the philosophers of constitutionalism, given utterance to the axiom that their king is, like a pair of scales, incapable of being in the wrong? Need we cite the pontiff, whose seat is at the Vatican, when we have, in each country town, magistrates incapable of condemning an innocent person, incapable of deciding against truth and justice? Do not the impeccability and infallibility which they enjoy constitute the essence of divinity? After all, infallibility in the matter of milk and curds is not less rational than infallibility in the matter of dogma or of moral responsibility; and the mistakes of the cheesemaker, should he commit any, have less disastrous consequences. In any case, the mountaineers of the Neilgherries say what they believe, and believe what they say.—From "Primitive Folk," by Elie Reclus.

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Smash the Banks.

Kate Austin asks, "Where, oh where, is the Christian that will head a crusade against the money sharks?" Why, bless your soul, it has been done over and over again. Rev. Gilbert de la Matyr was a Greenback representative in Congress who inspired as fierce a hatred on the part of bankers as Mrs. Nation has on the part of saloon keepers. He is dead. Then Jennings Bryan has twice headed crusades against the bankers, and he is a Christian. He is defeated. But he did not start out with a hatchet.

When Mrs. Nation first started out I said if I were going into the smashing business in the name of Jesus, I would start for the national banks the first thing. I am glad to see that Kate Austin and I agree on that point.

Denver, Colo. CELIA B. WHITEHEAD.

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Living Thoughts.

The laws keep up their credit, not being just, but because they are laws; 'tis the mystic foundation of their authority; they have no other, and it well answers their purpose. They are often made by fools, still oftener by men who, out of hatred to equality fail in equity; but always by men, vain and irresolute authors. There is nothing so much, nor so grossly, nor so ordinarily faulty, as the laws. Whoever obeys them because they are just, does not justly obey them as he ought.—Montaigne.

Just so long as there are women in cities who buy their food by selling their womanhood; so long as there are men in the rich coal-fields that must stand without, shivering at the door, pick in hand and muscle read for work, while wealth locks the coal-fields up against them and a shivering pop-

ulation; so long as in the ironfields men are working twelve hours a day, with no time even to court their wives or kiss their babies; so long as people and stock are starving to death in one part of this country, and corn is being burned for fuel in another; so long as one man has got the legal right by law to rob and starve a million; just so long my hand and heart are enlisted in any and every movement that gives fair promise for the emancipation of man by the emancipation of industry.—Robert Stiles.

I have never declined paying the highway tax, because I am as desirous of being a good neighbor as I am of being a bad subject; and, as for supporting schools, I am doing my part to educate my fellow-countrymen now. It is for no particular item in the tax-bill that I refuse to pay it. I simply wish to refuse allegiance to the State, to withdraw and stand aloof from it effectually. I do not care to trace the course of my dollar, if I could, till it buys a man or a musket to shoot one with,—the dollar is innocent,—but I am concerned to trace the effects of my allegiance. In fact, I quietly declare war with the State, after my fashion, though I will still make what use and get what advantage of her I can, as is usual in such cases.—Thoreau.

So far as a man thinks, he is free. Nothing is more disgusting than the crowing about liberty by slaves, as most men are, and the flippant mistaking for freedom of some paper preamble like a Declaration of Independence, or the statute right to vote, by those who have never dared to think or act.—Emerson.

"Belief" makes "blessed"; consequently it lies. "Belief" means not-wishing-to-know what is true.—Nietzsche.

To reject religion is the first step towards moral excellence.—Thoreau.

Every man is a consumer and ought to be a producer.—Emerson.

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Here and There.

Revolts against authority and exploitation continue to spread throughout the Continent. In the Catalonia district of Spain the revolution is taking greater dimensions daily. The strikers in the textile industry in Barcelona and other places have made demonstrations in which the cry of "Long live the Social Revolution!" had a prominent place.

The censor in Russia is doing his utmost to suppress all news concerning the unrest in that country, but the news is gradually becoming known. In Moscow significant demonstrations have taken place. Several students gathered at the Pushkin monument, and began to sing a revolutionary song, whereupon a large crowd soon assembled, taking part and encouraging the students. The authorities were quick to act, and the police soon dispersed the people. There was neither conflict nor arrests. The students rejoiced, however, over the triumph which they achieved. The workers in several large factories are out on a strike. A state of siege has been proclaimed in Odessa, Kieff, and Kharkoff. Eight hundred students in St. Petersburg are also striking, and have resolved not to attend the lectures. A number of arrests were made.

The Anarchists of Germany are not only annoyed by the police, who search their houses, take their photographs, and indulge in other impertinences not very amusing, but even the Social Democrats have joined in the general persecution. In some public places in Thueringen where Socialists gather for recreation, the proprietors were instructed to forbid the Anarchists admission, in order to prevent the distribution of Anarchist literature, under threat of a boycott if the demand was not carried out. Socialists go the capitalists one better, for they do not need to wait for civil power in order to inaugurate the "coming slavery."

On March 10 an enthusiastic meeting took place in Rome to protest against the high army expenditures and grain taxes. A number of Anarchists and Socialists addressed the meeting. Strangely enough, the police did not interfere, which is a rare phenomenon in Italy, and the meeting came off peacefully and quietly.

In Norway a new semi-monthly Anarchist journal, *Til Frihet*, has made its apperance, the address of which is: Kr. Hanstreen, Vibes gate, IV, Christiana, Norway.

The minister of war of Belgium reports that Socialism is making great inroads in the army, that it could be relied upon to repel an invasion, but it is doubtful if it could be used to suppress an insurrection of the people. The minister feels quite depressed over this state of affairs.—*Industrial Democracy.*

In Belgium an Anarchist congress is to be held on Easter, in which the following questions are to be discussed: 1. Anarchist principles, and the publication of an appropriate pamphlet, "What the Anarchists Want," which is to be distributed throughout the country; 2. Organization, and what is the best method of forming groups; 3. Propaganda through leaflets and placards, and the establishment of their own printing plant; 4. A bureau of information for the purpose of furnishing and exchanging news between different groups; 5. Trades unionism—general strike; 6. Propaganda against militarism; 7. The woman question. The Anarchists from all over Holland will meet during the holidays (Pentecost), to discuss ways and means for a vigorous agitation for a general strike.

The International Solidarity Group, whose circular we published not long ago, is making steady progress. Many groups have been formed in France, and some also in Spain. Many prominent men in France, authors, artists, and learned scholars, are joining to aid in the efforts of our comrades in upholding free press and free speech. Already some of those comrades who have been imprisoned for the opinions they hold have been assisted morally and financially.

King Edward has not yet learned that the function of a king consists in being the son of his mother. He is not content to act like a stuffed puppy, as his mother did, and the ministers find him a meddlesome fellow. As Victoria remained queen only because she made herself a nonentity, the new king may live to see the downfall of his ignoble race.

John Redmond, the Irish leader, states that during Victoria's reign forty coercion acts have been passed, and that 4,000,000 people have emigrated from Ireland. Mulhall, the statistician, in his "Fifty Years of National Progress," gives some figures, which have not been disputed, that show to what straits taxation and oppression have brought the Irish people. In this time 1,225,000 died of famine, while the number of persons evicted reached more than double that figure.

We are now getting a taste of twentieth century Puritanism. The directors of the Pan-American Exposition sent out a poster to advertise the Exposition. It represents a beautiful female figure with outstretched arms over which flow the waters of the Niagara. Through the falling water and the mists of the cataract the graceful lines of the figure may be dimly discerned. So strikingly artistic is the poster that the teachers of the Providence schools began using them to embellish the bare walls of their schoolrooms. Thereupon the prudish directors ordered that they be taken down, thus betraying how low and impure their own thoughts were. In New Brunswick, a professor (was it of ignorance?), the principal of a public school, made some remarks because the teachers wore skirts so short that they would not drag along in the mud. He said they were unbecoming any young woman. Such wisdom is very becoming of a professor!

The capitalistic press has at last exposed the conditions existing in South Carolina and other places in the South, being more conservative than conditions warrant. Ignorant blacks are lured into signing a contract which subjects them to a practical chattel slavery until the master sees fit to liberate them. The wages paid are always so miserably low that the slave usually owes the master money, and he is obliged to work off this debt before he is free. As the slave lives from hand to mouth continually, he cannot pay his debt, and is thus in his master's power until the latter has no further use for him. The Chicago *Tribune* has also discovered that in Alabama tramps are arrested and sentenced to a term of hard labor, and are then given to contractors who work them in the mines. The transports upon which they are taken to the mines recall the horrors of Siberia. In Montgomery some indignant citizens attempted to stop this practice, but were informed by the officials that this was perfectly legal and according to law.

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NOTICE.

Comrades who would like to room with comrades will please inquire 425 Carroll Ave., of this city.

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The number printed on the wrapper of your paper shows that your subscription has been paid up to that number.

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For NEW YORK.

Peter Kropotkin will lecture on "Anarchism: Its Philosophy and Ideal," Sunday, March 31, 1901, at 3 o'clock p. m., in Grand Central Palace, 43d St. & Lexington Ave. Admission 25 cents. The proceeds to defray expenses and to assist Anarchistic publications in the English language.

For PHILADELPHIA.

International Commemoration of the Paris Commune, under the auspices of the Social Science Club, Industrial Hall, Broad and Wood Sts., Sunday, March 24, 1901, 8 p. m. Music, songs, recitations and speeches in English, German, French, Italian, and Jewish. Speakers: George F. Stephens, Ed. Kuppinger, Geo. Ulrich, Geo. Brown, V. de Cleyre, J. Kayser, Dr. M. Barbour, J. Menta, L. Dujardin, J. Myers, J. Lubasky, J. Kirschner, H. Parker. Music under the direction of H. Bergman. Admission free. All welcome.

NOTICE.

I am desirous of getting into correspondence with comrades connected with some of the cooperative stores (Rochdale) in England, or to get the address of their central supply depot. Would like also to hear from any like concerns in France or German, in their own language, who believe in making life better *now*. Foreign exchanges please copy.

HENRY ADDIS.
Portland, Or., 125 Front St.
U. S. A.

Two Jingoes.

Madly they charged, a gallant twain,
Heedless of wounds or death;
They stormed the towering Transvaal height,
Driving the Boer in headlong flight,
Nor ever paused for breath.

Red were their hands, their weapons stained
With life-blood of the Boer.
They showed a wonder-stricken world
Proud Britain's flag again unfurled,
Adrip with Transvaal gore.

You ask me what was the reward
To each brave "British Cub."
No medals theirs—I much deplore,
Those heroes only fought the Boer,
While bee-soaked in a pub.

—*Reynold's Newspaper*

The Letter-Box.

G. T., Brooklyn.—The sentiment of your verses is all right, but it is not poetry, and cannot be published as such. Enclose stamp if the return of the MS. is desired.

S. R., Haverhill, Mass.—The paper will be sent regularly as advised. Please see whether it is on the table.

J. A. W., Atlanta, Ga.—You will receive the paper anyhow, and you may pay whenever you are able to do so.

C. A., Brooklyn, N. Y.—The M. O. for $1, of December 21, 1900, from the "Internationaler Club Freiheit" was received, but was not credited in the "Receipts" on account of the move.

J. F. B., Pullman, Wash.—We are glad to hear that you are willing to be enlightened, and have sent some pamphlets for this purpose. You may pay for them if you think they have given you some light on our principles and ideals.

RECEIPTS.

SUBSCRIPTIONS.—Schroeter, $1.75. R. Task, J. Task, Meyers, Stroka, Whinrey, Lackock, Wohl, Queckbrenner, each $1. Berman, Greenfield, Brynoff, Gill, Wirth, Rattray, McLeay, Martina, Belz, Jones, Lessman, Fritsche, Roodin, Nicholas, each 50c. Marakergaard, 30c. March, Nuerenberg, Gabler, McCann, Clarkson, McEndrews, each 25c.

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MEETINGS.

NEW YORK.—The Social Science Club meets every Thursday 8. p. m., 250 W. 23th Street.

PHILADELPHIA—The Social Science Club meets every Sunday evening at Industrial Hall, Corner Broad and Wood Streets. Lectures, questions and discussions concerning the topics of the hour.

PITTSBURG—The Debating Club meets every Sunday afternoon 2 p. m. at 155 Crawford St. Take any Fifth Ave. car Pride St.

MORIBUND SOCIETY AND ANARCHY.

Translated from the French of

JEAN GRAVE

By VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE.

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